

His Highness

S P E E C H

TO THE
PARLIAMENT
IN THE
PAINTED CHAMBER
AT THEIR
DISSOLUTION,

upon Monday the 22d. of January 1654.

Published to prevent Mistakes and false Copies.

Re-Printed at *Dublin*, by *William Bladen*,
1654.

THE STATE OF

NEW YORK

IN SENATE

JANUARY 1871

REPORT

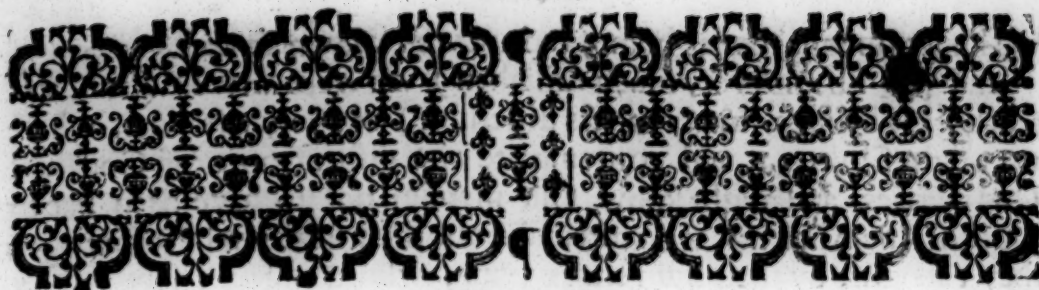
OF THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE

IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE SENATE

PASSED MAY 18 1870

ALBANY



H I S
H I G H N E S
Speech

To the Parliament, in the Painted Chamber,
at their Dissolution, upon Monday

January 22. 1654

Gentlemen



Perceive, you are here as the *House of Parliament*, by your Speaker, whom I see here, and by your faces, which are, in a great measure, known to me.

When I first met you in this Room, it was, to my apprehension, the hopefullest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to considerations of this World: For I did look at (as wrapt up in you, together with my self) the hopes and the happiness of (though not of the greatest, yet a very great, and) the best people in the World; and truly and unfeignedly I thought so; as a People that have the highest and the clearest profession among them, of the greatest glory (to wit) Religion; as a People that have been like other Nations, sometimes up, and sometimes down, in our honour in the world, but yet never so low, but we might measure with other Nations; and a People that have had a stamp upon them from God, God having (as it were) summed all Our former Glory and Honour, in the things that are of Glory to Nations in an Eternity.

We knew one another at home, and are well known abroad.

And (if I be not very much mistaken) we were arrived (as I, and truly, as I believe, many others did think) at a very safe Port, where we might sit down, and contemplate the dispensations of God, and Our mercies, and might know Our mercies not to have been like to those of the Antients, who did make out their Peace and Prosperity, as they thought, by their own endeavours ; who could not say, as We, That all Ours were let down to Us from God himself, whole Appearances and Providences amongst Us are not to be outmatched by any Story.

Truly this was Our condition, and I know nothing else we had to do, save as *Israel* was commanded, in that most excellent *Psalms* of *David*, *Psal. 78. v. 4, 5, 6, 7.* *The things which we have heard and known, and our Fathers have told us, we will not hide them from their Children, shewing to the Generation to come the praise of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonderful works which he hath done ; for he established a Testimony in Jacob, and appointed a Law in Israel, which he commanded our Fathers that they should make them known to their Children, that the Generation to come might know them, even the Children which should be born, who should arise and declare them to their Children, that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his Commandments.*

This I thought had been a Song and a Work worthy of *England*, whereunto you might have happily invited them, had you had Hearts unto it.

You had this opportunity fairly delivered unto you ; And if a *History* shall be written of these times, and of transactions, it will be said (it will not be denied) but that these things that I have spoken are true.

This *Talent* was put into your hands, and I shall recur to that which I said at the first, I came with very great joy, and contentment, and comfort, the first time I met you in this Place : But we and these Nations are, for the present, under some disappointment. If I had purposed to have plaid the Orator, which I did never affect, nor do, nor I hope shall, I doubt not but upon easie suppositions, which I am persuaded every one among you will grant, we did meet upon such hopes as these.

I met you a second time here, and I confess at that meeting I had much abatement of my hopes, though not a total frustration. I confess that that which damp't my hopes, so soon, was somewhat that did look

of Affairs did favour of a *not-owning* too too much favour I say of a *not-owning* the *Authority* that called you hither; but God left us not without an expedient that gave a second *Possibility*, shall I say, a *possibility*? it seemed to Me a *probability* of recovering out of that *Dissatisfied Condition* We were all then in, towards some mutuality of *Satisfaction*, and therefore by that *Recognition*, suiting with the *Indenture* that returned you hither, to which afterwards also was added your own *Declaration*, conformable to and in acceptance of, that Expedient, whereby you had (though with a little check) another opportunity renewed unto you to have made this Nation as happy as it could have been, if every thing had smoothly run on from that first hour of your meeting.

And indeed (you will give me liberty of my thoughts and hopes) I did think, as I have formerly found in that way that I have been engaged as a Souldier, that some affronts put upon us, some disasters at the first, have made way for very great and happy Successes.

And I did not at all *despond*, but the *Stop* put upon you, would in like manner have made way for a blessing from God, that that *Interruption* being, as I thought, necessary to divert you from destructive and violent proceedings, to give time for better Deliberations; whereby, leaving the GOVERNMENT as you found it, you might have proceeded to have made those good and wholesome *Laws*, which the People expected from you, and might have answered the *Grievances*, and settled those other things proper to you as a *Parliament*, and for which you would have had thanks, from all that intrusted you.

What hath hapned since that time, I have not taken publick notice of, as declining to intrench upon *Parliament Priviledges*: For sure I am, you will all bear me witness, that from your entring into the *House* upon the *Recognition*, to this very day, you have had no manner of *Interruption* or *Hindrance* of mine, in proceeding to that blessed issue the heart of a good man could propose to himself, to this very day.

You see you have me verie much lockt up as to what you transacted among your selves from that time to this, but something I shall take liberty to speak of to you, As I may not take notice what you have been doing, so I think I have a very great liberty to tell you, that I do not know what you have been doing, I do not know whether you have been alive or dead, I have not once *Heard* from you in all this time, I have not, and that you all know: If that be a fault that I have not, surely it hath not been mine.

If I had any *Melancholy thoughts*, and have sat down by them, why might it not have been very lawful to me, to think that I was a Person

judged *Unconcerned* in all these businesses: I can assure you, I have not reckoned my self, nor did I reckon my self *unconcerned* in you, and so long as any *Iust patience* could support my expectations, I would have waited to the uttermost to have received from you the issues of your *Consultations* and *Resolutions*; I have been careful of your *Safety*, & the *Safety* of those that you represented, to whom I reckon my self a Servant.

But what *Messages* have I disturbed you withall? What *Injury* or *Indignity* hath been done or offered, either to your Persons, or to any Priviledges of *Parliament*, since you sat? I looked at my self, as strictly obliged by my *Oath* since your *Recognizing* the GOVERNMENT, in the *Authority* of which you were called hither, and sate, to give you all possible security, and to keep you from any *un-Parliamentary Interruption*.

Think you I could not say more upon this subject, if I listed to expaciate thereupon; but because my actions plead for me: I shall say no more of this.

I say, I have been caring for you, your quiet sitting, caring for your Priviledges (as I said before) that they might not be *Interrupted*, have been seeking of God, from the great God, a *Blessing* upon you, and a *Blessing* upon these Nations; I have been consulting, if possible I might in any thing promote, in my Place, the real good of this *Parliament*, of the hopefulness of which I have said so much unto you.

And I did think it to be my business, rather to see the utmost issue, and what God would produce by you, than unseasonably to intermeddle with you. But as I said before, I have been caring for you, and for the peace and quiet of the Nations, indeed I have, and that I shall a little presently manifest unto you.

And it leadeth me to let you know somewhat that I fear, I fear will be through some interpretation a little too justly put upon you, whilest you have been employed as you have been (and in all that time expressed in the GOVERNMENT, in that GOVERNMENT, I say, in that GOVERNMENT) brought forth nothing that you your selves say can be taken notice of without *infringment* of your *Priviledges*.

I will tell you somewhat, that (if it be not news to you) I wish you had taken very serious consideration of; if it be *news*, I wish I had acquainted you with it sooner: And yet if any man will ask me why I did it not, the Reason is given already, because I did make it my business to give you no *interruption*.

There be some *Trees* that will not grow under the *shadow* of other
 There be some *men* that will not grow under the *shadow* of other

to thrive under the *shadow* of other *Trees*: I will tell you what have thriven, I will not say what you have *cherished* under your *shadow*, that were too hard. Instead of the *Peace* and *Settlement*, instead of *Mercy* and *Truth* being brought together, *Righteousness* and *Peace* kissing each other, by reconciling the honest People of these Nations; and settling the woful Distempers that are amongst us, (which had been glorious things, and worthy of *Christians* to have proposed) *Weeds* and *Nettles*, *Briars* and *Thorn*; have thriven under your *shadow*, dissettlement and division, discontent and dissatisfaction, together with real dangers to the whole, has been more multiplied within these *five Months* of your Sitting, than in some *Years* before.

Foundations have been also laid for the future renewing the *Troubles* of these Nations, by all the *Enemies* of it *abroad* and at *home*; Let not these words seem too sharp, for they are true, as any *Mathematical Demonstrations* are or can be; I say, the *Enemies* of the *Peace* of these Nations *abroad* and at *home*, the discontented humors throughout these Nations, which I think no man will grudge to call by that name, or to make to allude to *Briars* and *Thorns*, they have nourished themselves under your *shadow*.

And that I may be clearly understood, they have taken the opportunities from your *Sitting*, from the hopes they had, which with easie conjecture they might take up, and conclude, that there would be no *Settlement*, and therefore they have framed their *Designes*, preparing for the *execution* of them accordingly.

Now whether (which appertains not to me to judge of on their behalf) they had any occasion ministred for this; and from whence they had it, I list not to make any scrutiny or search, but I will say this, I think they had them not from me, I am sure they had not; from whence they had it is not my business now to discourse, but that they had, is obvious to every mans sense.

What preparations they have made to *execute* in such a sea son as they thought fit to take their opportunity from, that I know (not as men know things by conjecture, but) by certain demonstrable knowledg, that they have been (for some time past) furnishing themselves with *Arms*, nothing doubting, but that they should have a *Day* for it; and verily believing, that whatsoever their former *disappointments* were, they should have more done for them by and from our own *Divisions*, than they were able to do for themselves. I do not, and I desire to be understood so, that in all I have to say of this subject, you will take it that I have no reservation in my mind, to mislead

of *Guess* and *Suspicion*, with things of *Fact*, but the things I am telling are of *Fact*, things of evident *demonstration*.

These *Weeds*, *Briars* and *Thorns*, they have been preparing, and have brought their *Designs* to some maturity, by the advantages given to them, as aforesaid, from your *Sitting* and *Proceedings*; but by the *waiting* that watched over that *Cause* that God will bless, they have been, and yet are *disappointed*. And having mentioned that *Cause*, I say that *slighted Cause*, Let me speak a few words in behalf thereof (though it may seem too long a digression) Whosoever despiseth it, and will say it is *Non Causa pro Causa*, the all-searching eye before mentioned will find out that Man, and will judge him, as one that regardeth not the *Works* of God, nor the *operations* of his hands, for which God hath threatened to cast men down and not build them up; that because he can dispute, and tell us, He knew not where the *Cause* begun, nor where it is, but modelleth it according to his own intellect, and submits not to the *appearances* of God in the World, therefore he lifts up his heel against God, and mocketh at all his providences, laughing at the observations made up not without *Reason*, and the *Scriptures*, but by the quickening and teaching *Spirit*, which gives life to the other, calling such *observations* *Enthusiasms*. Such men, I say, no wonder if they stumble and fall backward, and be broken, and snared, and taken by the things of which they are so maliciously and wilfully ignorant. The *Scriptures* say, The *Rod* has a voice, and he will make himself known, and he will make himself known by the Judgements which he executeth; and do we not think he will, and does, by the providences of mercy and kindness which he hath for his People, and for their just Liberties, *whom he loves as the Apple of his Eye*? Doth he not by them manifest himself? And is he not thereby also seen, giving *Kingdoms* for them, giving *Men* for them, and *People* for their lives? As it is in the 43. of *Isaiah*. Is not this as fair a Lecture, and as clear speaking, as any thing our dark reason left to the Letter of the *Scriptures* can collect from them? By this voice has God spoken very loud on the behalf of his People, by judging their Enemies in the late *War*, and restoring them a *liberty* to worship with the freedom of their *Consciences*, and freedom in their *Estates* and *Persons* when they do so. And thus we have found the *Cause* of God by the *Works* of God, which are the *Testimony* of God, upon which *Rock* whosoever *splits* shall suffer shipwreck.

But it is Our *Glory*, and it is *Mine*, if I have any in the World, in seeing the *Interest* of those that have an *Interest* in a better World;

'Tis My *Glory* that, I know a *Cause*, which yet we have not lost, but do hope we shall take a little pleasure rather to lose our *Lives* than lose. But you will excuse this long digression.

I say unto you, whilst you have been in the midst of these *Transactions*, that *Party*, that *Cavalier Party*, (I could wish some of them had thrust in here to have heard what I say) the *Cavalier Party* have been *designing* and *preparing* to put this *Nation* in blood again with a witness; but because I am confident there are none of that Sort here, therefore I shall say the less to that; onely this I must tell you, they have been making great preparations of *Arms*, and, I do believe, will be made evident to you that they have raked out many thousands of *Arms*, even all that this *City* could afford, for divers Months last past.

But it will be said, May we not arm Our selves for the Defence of our Houses? will any bodie find fault for that? No, for that, the reason of their doing so hath been as explicit, and under as clear proof, as the fact of doing so, for which I hope, by the *Justice* of the Land, some will, in the face of the Nation, *Answer* it with their lives, and then the business will be pretty well out of doubt.

Banks of *Money* have been framing for these, and other such like uses; *Letters* have been issued, with *Privie Seals*, to as great Persons as most are in the Nation, for the advance of Moneys, which have been *discovered* to Us by the persons themselves; Commissions for *Regiments* of *Horse* and *Foot*, and *Command* of *Castles*, have been likewise given from *Charles Stuart*, since your *Sitting*; and what the general insolencies of that party have been, the honest people have been sensible of, and can very well testify.

It hath not been onely thus; but as in a *Quinzie* or *Plurisie*, where the humor fixeth in one part, give it scope, it will gather to that place, to the hazarding of the whole, and it is natural to do so, till it destroy nature, in that *Person* on whomsoever this befalls,

So likewise will those *diseases* take accidental *Causes* of aggravation of their distemper; and this was that which I did assert, that they have taken *Accidental Causes*, for the growing and increasing of those *Distempers*, as much as would have been in the natural body, if timely remedy were not applied. And indeed, things were come to that pass (in respect of which I shall give you a particular account) that no mortal *Physician*, if the *Great Physician* had not stepped in, could have cured the *Distemper*.

Shall I lay this upon your Account, or my own? I am sure I can lay it upon Gods account, that I have seen it.

mortal and destructive; and what is all this? Truly I must needs say, a company of men still, like *Briars* and *Thorns*, and worse, if worse can be, of another sort than those before mentioned to you, have been, and yet are, endeavoring to put Us into *Blind*, and into *Confusion*, more desperate and dangerous *Confusion* than *England* ever yet saw.

And I must say, as when *Gideon* commanded his Son to fall upon *Zeba* and *Zalmunna*, to slay them, they thought it more noble to die by the hand of a *Man*, than of a *Stripling*; which shews, there is some contentment in the *hand* by which a man falls: So is it some satisfaction, if a *Common-wealth* must *perish*, that it *perish* by *Men*, and not by the hands of persons differing little from *Beasts*; That if it must needs suffer, it should rather suffer from *rich men*, than from *poor men*, who, as *Solomon* saies, *when they oppress, they leave nothing behind them, but are as a sweeping rain.*

Now, such as these also are grown up under your shadow: But it will be asked, what have they done? I hope, though they pretend *Common-wealths interest*, they have had no encouragement from you, but that as before, rather taken it, than that you have administered any *Cause* unto them for so doing, from *Delays*, from hopes that this *Parliament* would not settle, from *Pamphlets*, mentioning strange *Votes* and *Resolves* of yours, which I hope did abuse you. Thus you see, what ever the *Grounds* were, these have been the *Effects*. And thus I have laid these things before you, and you and others will be easily able to judge how far you are concerned.

And what have these men done? They have also labored to pervert where they could, and as they could, the *honest meaning* people of the Nation, they have labored to engage some in the *Army*; and I doubt, that not onely they, but some others also very well known to *You*, have helped in this work of debauching and dividing the *Army*; they have, they have; I would be loth to say, *who*, *where*, and *how*, much more loth to say, they were any of your own *Number*, but I can say *Endeavors* have been to put the *Army* into a *Distemper*, and to *Fed* that which is the worst humor in the *Army*, which though it was not a mauling humor, yet these took their advantage from delay of the *Settlement*, and the *Practices* before mentioned, and *stopping* the pay of the *Army*, to run Us into *Free-Quarter*, and to bring us into the inconveniencies most to be feared and avoided.

What if I am able to make it appear in *Fact*, That some amongst you have run into the City of *London* to perswade to *Petitions* and *Ad-*

ther these practices were in favor of your *Liberties*; or tended to beggar hopes of *Peace* and *Settlement* from you; and whether *debauching* the *Army* in *England*, as is before expressed, and *sterling* it, and putting it upon *Free-Quarter*, and occasioning and necessitating the greatest part thereof in *Scotland* to march into *England*, leaving the remainder thereof to have their *throats cut* there, and kindling by the rest a *Fire* in our own *bosoms*, were for the advantage of Affairs here, Let the World judge?

This I tell you also, that the correspondency held with the Interest of the *Cavaliers*, by that Party of men called *Levellers*, and who call themselves *Common-wealths-men*; whose *Declarations* were framed to that purpose, and ready to be published at the time of their *Common-riſing*, whereof *We* are possessed, and for which *We* have the *Confession* of themselves, now in custody; who confess also they built their hopes upon the assurance they had of the *Parliaments* not agreeing a *Settlement*: Whether these humors have not nourished themselves under your *Boughs*, is the subject of my present discourse, and I think I say not amiss if I affirm it to be so.

And I must say it again, That that which hath been their advantage, thus to raise *disturbance*, hath been by the loss of those *Golden opportunities*, that God hath put into your hands for *Settlement*. Judge you whether these things were thus or no, when you first sat down, I am sure things were not thus, there was a very great *Peace*, and sedateness, throughout these *Nations*, and great expectations of a happy *Settlement*, which I remembered to you at the beginning of my Speech, and hoped that you would have entered upon your business as you found it.

There was a GOVERNMENT in the possession of the People, I say a GOVERNMENT in the possession of the People, for many Months, it hath now been exercised near fifteen Months; and if it were needful that I should tell you, how it came into their *Possession*, and how willingly they *received* it, How all *Law* and *Justice* were distributed from it, in every respect, as to life, liberty and estate: How it was *owned* by God, as being the Dispensation of his *Providence*, after twelve years *War*, and *sealed* and *Witnessed* unto by the People, I should but repeat what I said in my last Speech made unto you in this Place, and therefore I forbear.

When you were entered upon this GOVERNMENT, raveling into it (you know I took no notice what you were doing) if you had gone upon that score, if

visions for the good of the People of these Nations, for the *Settling* of such matters in things of Religion as would have *upheld* and given *Countenance* to a *Godly Ministry*, and yet would have given a *just libertie* to *Godly men* of different Judgements, men of the same Faith with them that you call the *Orthodox Ministry* in England, as it is well known the *Independents* are, and many under the Form of *Baptism*, who are *sound in the Faith*, onely may perhaps be different in Judgement in some lesser matters, yet as true *Christians*, both looking at Salvation, *onely by faith in the blood of Christ*, men professing the fear of God, having recourse to the *Name of God*, as to a *strong Tower*; I say you might have had *Opportunity* to have settled *Peace and Quietness* amongst all professing *Godliness*, and might have been instrumental, it not to have *healed* the breaches, yet to have kept the *Godly* of all Judgements from running one upon another, and by keeping them from being over-run by a *Common Enemy*, rendered them and these Nations, both secure, happy, and well satisfied.

Are these things done? or any thing towards them? Is there not yet upon the Spirits of men a strange *itch*? Nothing will satisfy them, unless they can put their finger upon their *Brethrens Consciences*, to pinch them there. To do this was no part of the Contest we had with the *Common Adversary*; for Religion was not the thing at the first contested for; but God brought it to that issue at last, and gave it unto Us by way of *Redundancie*, and at last it proved to be that which was most dear to us; and wherein consisted this, more than in obtaining that *Liberty* from the *Tyranny* of the *Bishops*, to all *Species* of *Protestants*, to worship God according to their own *Light and Consciences*? for want of which, many of our *Brethren* forsook their *Native Countreys*, to seek their *Bread* from *Strangers*, and to live in *Howling wildernesses*; and for which also, many that remained here, were *imprisoned*, and otherwise *abused*, and made the scorn of the *Nation*.

Those that were *sound in the Faith*, how proper was it for them to labor for *Liberty*, for a just *Liberty*, that men should not be trampled upon for their *Consciences*? had not they labored but lately under the *weight* of *Persecutions*, & was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? what greater *Hypocrisie*, than for those who were oppressed by the *Bishops*, to become the greatest *Oppressors* themselves, so soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that they who call for liberty now also, had not too much of that *Spirit*, if the power were in their hands.

Contentious Railers, Evil Speakers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners, persons of loose *Conversations*, punishment from the *Civil Magistrate* ought to meet with them, because if these pretend *Conscience*, yet walking *disorderly*, and not according, but contrary to the *Gospel*, and even to *natural light*, they are judged of all, and their *Sins* being open, makes them subjects of the *Magistrates* Sword, who ought not to bear it in vain.

The *Discipline* of the *Army* was such, that a man would not be suffered to remain there, of whom we could take notice he was guilty of such *Practices* as these: And therefore how happy would *England* have been, and You, and I, if the Lord had led you on to have settled upon such good accounts as these are, and to have *discountenanced* such practices as the other, and left men in *disputable things* free to their own *Consciences*, which was well provided for by the GOVERNMENT, and Liberty left to provide against what was apparently evil.

Judge you, whether the *contesting* for things that were provided for by this GOVERNMENT hath been *Profitable* expence of time for the good of these Nations? by means whereof, you may see you have wholly elapsed your time, and done just nothing.

I will say this to you in behalf of the long *Parliament*, that had such an *Expedient* as this GOVERNMENT been proposed to them, and that they could have seen the Cause of God thus provided for, and had by debates been enlightened in the grounds by which the *Difficulties* might have been cleared, and the reason of the whole enforced, the circumstances of *Time* and *Persons*, with the *Temper* and *Disposition* of the *People*, and *Affairs* both *Abroad* and at *Home*, when it was undertaken, well weighed, (as well as they were thought to love their Seats) I think in my conscience that they would have proceeded in another manner than you have done, and not have exposed things to those *Difficulties* and *Hazards* they now are at, nor given occasion to leave the *People* so *dissettled* as now they are, who I dare say, in the interest, and most judicious part of them, did expect, not a *Questioning*, but a *Doing* things in persuance of the GOVERNMENT, and if I be not mis-informed, very many of you came up with this *Satisfaction*, having had time enough to weigh and consider the same.

And when I say, such an *Expedient* as this GOVERNMENT is, wherein I dare assert there is a just *Liberty* to the *People* of God, and the *Just Rights* of the *People* in these Nations provided for, I can put the issue thereof upon the *Clearest Reason*, whatsoever any go about to suggest to the Contrary.

But this not being the time and place of such an *Averment*, for Satisfaction sake herein, enough is said in a Book, intituled, *A True State of the Case of the Common-wealth, &c.* published in Jan. 1653. (And for my self, I desire not to keep it an hour longer than I may preserve *England* in its *just Rights*, and may *Protect* the People of God in such a just *Liberty* of their *Consciences*, as I have already mentioned) And therefore if this Parliament have judged things to be otherwise than as I have stated them, it had been huge *Friendliness* between persons that had such a *Reciprocation*, and in so great *Concernments* to the publick, for them to have convinced me in what particulars therein my error lay, of which I never yet had a word from you. But if instead thereof, your time has been spent in *Setting up* somewhat else upon another *bottom* than this stands, that looks as if a laying grounds of a *Quarrel* had rather been designed, than to give the People *Settlement*; if it be thus, its well your Labors have not arrived to any maturity at all.

This Government called you hether, the Constitution whereof being so limited, *A single Person and a Parliament*, and this was thought most agreeable to the Genral sence of the Nation, having had experience enough by tryal of other Conclusions, judging this most likely to avoid the extreams of Monarchy on the one hand, and *Democracy* on the other, and yet not to found *Dominium in gratia*. And if so, then certainly to make it more than a Nation, it was requisit that it should be as it is in the GOVERNMENT, which puts it upon a true and equal *Ballance*. It has been already submitted to the Judicious honest People of this Nation, whether the *Ballance* be not equal, and what their Judgement is, is *visible* by *Submission* to it, by *acting* upon it, by *restraining* their *Trustees* from meddling with it: and it neither asks nor needs any better ratification. But when *Trustees* in *Parliament* shall by *Experience* find any evil in any parts of the *Government*, referred by the *Government* it self to the Consideration of the *Protector* and *Parliament* (of which time it self will be the best Discoverer) how can it be reasonably imagined, that a Person or Persons coming in by *Election*, and standing under such *Obligations*, and so limited, and so necessitated by *Oath* to *Govern*, for the Peoples good, and to make their love, under God, the best under-propping, and his best interest to him, how can it, I say, be imagined, that the present or succeeding *PROTECTOR*s will refuse to agree to alter any such thing in the GOVERNMENT that may be found to be for the good of the People, or to recede from any thing which he might be convinced of.

too much to the single Person? And although for the present, the keeping up, and having in His Power the *Militia* seems the most hard, yet if it should be yielded up at such a time as this, when there is as much need to keep this Cause by it (which is most evident at this time impugned by all the Enemies of it) as there was to get it, what would become of all? Or if it should not be equally placed in him and the *Parliament*, but yielded up at any time, it determines his power, either for doing the good he ought, or hindring *Parliaments* from perceiving themselves, or from imposing what *Religions* they please on the Consciences of men, or what Government they please upon the Nation, thereby subjecting us to *Dissettlement*, in every *Parliament*, and to the desperate consequences thereof; and if the Nation shall happen to fall into a blessed Peace, how easily and certainly, will their charge be taken off, and their Forces be disbanded, and then where will the danger be to have the *Militia* thus stated?

What if I should say, If there should be a disproportion or disequality as to the power, it is on the other hand, and if this be so, wherein have you had cause to quarrel? What Demonstrations have you held forth to settle Me to your opinion? would you had made me so happy as to let me have known your *Grounds*. I have made a free and ingenuous confession of my *Faith* to you, and I could have wished it had been in your hearts to have agreed that some friendly and cordial debates might have been towards mutual Conviction; was there none amongst you to move such a thing? No fitness to listen to it? No desire of a right understanding? If it be not folly in Me to listen to Town-talk, such things have been proposed, and rejected, with stiffness and severity, once and again; Was it not likely to have been more advantageous to the good of this Nation? I will say this to you for My self, & to that I have my *Conscience* as a thousand Witnesses, and I have my comfort and contentment in it, and I have the Witness of Divers here, that I think truly scorn to Own me in a Lie, that I would not have been averie to any alteration, of the good of which I might have been convinced, although I could not have agreed to the taking it off the Foundation on which it stands, &c. *The acceptation and consent of the People*.

I will not preface what you have been about, or doing in all this time, or do I love to make *Conjectures*, but I must tell you this, That as I undertook this *Government* in the simplicity of my heart, and as before God, and to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the Interest which in my *Conscience* is dear to many of you, & though it is

not alwaies understood what God in his wisdom may hide from Us, as to Peace and Settlement) So I can say, that no particular Interest, either of my *Self*, *Estate*, *Honour*, or *Family*, are, or have been prevalent with me to this Undertaking.

For if you had upon the old Government offered to me this one, this one thing, I speak, as thus advised, and before God, as having been to this day of this opinion, and this hath been my constant *Judgement*, well known to many that hear me speak, if this one thing had been inserted, that one thing, that this *Government* should have been, and placed in my Family *Hereditary* I would have rejected it, and I could have done no other, according to my present *Conscience* and *Light* ; I will tell you my reason, though I cannot tell what God will do with Me, nor You, nor the Nation, for throwing away precious opportunities committed to Us.

This hath been my Principle, and I liked it when this Government came first to be proposed to me, That it put Us off that *Hereditary* way, well looking, that as God had declared what GOVERNMENT he had delivered over to the *Jews*, and placed it upon such persons as had been instrumental for the *Conduct* and *Deliverance* of his People ; And considering that promise in *Isaiah*, That God would give *Rulers* as at the first, and *Judges* as at the beginning, I did not know, but that God might begin, and though at present with a most unworthy *Person*, yet as to the future, it might be after this manner, and I thought this might usher it in. I am speaking as to my *Judgement* against making it *Hereditary*, to have men chosen for their *Love to God*, and to *Truth*, and *Justice*, and not to have it *Hereditary* ; for as it is in *Ecclesiastes* *Who knoweth whether he may beget a Fool or Wise*, honest or not, what ever they be must come in upon that account, because the *Government* is made a *Patrimony*.

And this I do perhaps declare with too much *Earnestness*, as being my own *Concernment*, and know not what *Place* it may have in your *Hearts*, and of the good people in the Nation, but however it be, I have comfort in this my truth and plainness.

I have thus told you my thoughts, which truly I have declared to you in the fear of God, as knowing he will not be mocked, and in the strength of God, as knowing and rejoycing that I am kept in my speaking ; especially when I do not form or frame things without the compals of the *Integrity*, and *Honesty*, that my own *Conscience* gives me not the *Ly* to what I say, and then in what I say I can rejoyce.

Now to the third word or two to you, Of that I must profess in the

name of the same Lord, and I wish that there had been no cause that I should have thus spoken to you, and though I have told you, that I came with *Joy the first time*, with some regret the second, that now I speak with *most regret* of all.

I look upon you, as having among you many persons, that I could lay down my life individually for, I could through the grace of God, desire to lay down my life for you; So far am I from having an unkind or un-Christian heart towards you, in your particular capacities.

I have that indeed as a work most incumbent upon *Me*, I consulted what might be *My Duty* in such a *Day* as this, casting up all Considerations. I must confess, as I told you, that I did think *occasionally* this Nation hath suffered extremely in the respects mentioned, as also in the *Disappointments* of their *Expectations* of that *Justice* that was due to them by your sitting thus long; and what have you brought forth?

I did not, nor cannot apprehend what it is, (I would be loth to call it a *Fate*, that were too *Paganish* a Word) but there is something in it, that we have not our *Expectations*.

I did think also for my self, that I am like to meet with *Difficulties*, and that this Nation will not (as it is fit it should not) be *deluded* with pretexts of *Necessity* in that great business of raising of money, and were it not that I can make some *Dilemmaes* upon which to resolve some things of my *Conscience*, *Judgement*, and *Actions*, I should sink at the very prospect of my Encounters; some of them are general, some are more special, supposing this *Cause*, or this *Business* must be carried on, either it is of *God*, or of *Man*, if it be of *Man*, I would I had never touched it with a finger; if I had not had a hope fixed in Me that this *Cause*, and this *Business* is of *God*, I would many years ago have run from it. If it be of *God*, he will bear it up. If it be of *Man*, it will tumble, as every thing that hath been of man, since the World began, hath done. And what are all our *Histories*, and other *Traditions* of actions in *former times*, but God manifesting himself that he hath *shaken* and *tumbled down*, and *trampled upon* every thing that he hath not *planted*? And as this is, so the all-wise God deal with it.

If this be of humane Structure, and invention, and it be an old *Plotting* and *Contrivance* to bring things to this *Issue*, and that they are not the *births* of *Providence*, then they will tumble. But if the Lord take pleasure in *England*, and if he will do us good, he is able to bear us up; Let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall in his Strength be

able to encounter with them. And I bless God I have been intred to *Difficulties*, and I never found God *failed* when I *trusted* in him; I can laugh and sing in my heart when I speak of these things to you, or elsewhere. And though some may think it an hard thing without *Parliamentary Authority* to raise money upon this *Nation*; yet I have another Argument to the good people of this Nation, if they would be safe, and have no better *Principle*; whether they prefer the having of their *Will*, though it be their *Destruction*, rather than comply with things of necessity; that will excuse me, but I should wrong my native Countrey to suppose this.

For I look at the People of these Nations, as the blessing of the Lord, and they are a People blessed by God. They have been so, and they will be so, by reason of that *immortal seed*, which hath been, & is amongst them, those regenerated ones in the Land, of several Judgements, who are all the Flock of Christ, and Lambs of Christ, though perhaps under many unruly passions, and troubles of Spirit, whereby they give disquiet to themselves and others; yet they are not so to God, as to Us, he is a God of other patience, and he will own the least of truth in the hearts of his People, and the people being the blessing of God they will not be so angry, but they will prefer their safety to their passions, and their real security to forms, when necessity calls for supplies; had they not well been acquainted with this principle, they had never seen this day of Gospel-Liberty.

But if any man shall object, It is an easie thing to talk of necessities when men create necessities; would not the *Lord Protector* make Himself great, and his Familie great? doth not He make these necessities? and then he will come upon the People with this Argument of necessity.

This were something hard indeed, but I have not yet known what it is to make necessities, whatsoever the Judgements or thoughts of men are. And I say this, not onely to this Assembly, but to the World, that that man liveth not, that can come to me, and charge me that I have in these great Revolutions made necessities; I challenge even all that fear God: And as God hath said. *My glory I will not give unto another*, Let men take heed, and be twice advised, how they call his Revolutions, the things of God, and his working of things from one Period to another, how I say, they call them necessities of mens creation, for by so doing they do vilifie and lessen the works of God, and

rob him of his Glory, which he hath said, *he will not give unto another,* nor suffer to be taken from him. We know what God did to *Herod* when he was applauded, and did not acknowledge God; And God knoweth what he will do with men when they shall call His *Revolutions*, humane Designs, and so detract from his Glory, when they have not been forecast, but sudden Providences in things, whereby Carnal and Worldly men are enraged, and under, and at which many I fear (some good) have murmured and repined, because disappointed of their mistaken Fancies; but still they have been the wise disposings of the Almighty, though Instruments have had their passions and frailties; and I think it is an Honor to God to acknowledge the necessities to have been of Gods imposing, when truly they have been so, as indeed they have, when we take our sin in our actions to our selves, and much more safe, than judge things so contingent, as if there were not a God that ruled the Earth.

We know the Lord hath poured this Nation from Vessel to Vessel, till he poured it into your Lap, when you came first together: I am confident, that it came so into your hands, was not judged by you to be from Counterfeited, or feigned necessity, but by Divine Providence and Dispensation. And this I speak with more earnestness, because I speak for God, and not for men: I would have any man to come and tell of the transactions that have been, and of those periods of time, wherein God hath made these *Revolutions*, and find where they can fix a feigned necessity.

I could recite particulars, if either My strength would serve Me to speak, or yours to hear; if that you would revolve the great hand of God in his great Dispensations, you would find that there is scarce a man that fell off at any period of time when God had any work to do, that can give God or his work, at this day, a good word.

It was, say some, the cunning of the Lord Protector (I take it to my self) it was the craft of such a man, and his plot that hath brought it about. And as they say in other Countreys, There are five or six cunning men in *England* that have skill, they do all these things: Oh what *Blasphemy* is this! because men that are without God in the World, and walk not with him, and know not what it is to pray, or believe, and to receive returns from God, and to be spoken unto by the Spirit of God, who speak without a written Word sometimes, yet according to it: God hath spoken heretofore in divers manners, let him speak as he pleaseth

seth. Hath he not given us liberty? nay is it not our dutie to go to the *Law and to the Testimonies*, and there we shall find that there have been impressions in extraordinary cases, as well without the written Word as with it, and therefore there is no difference in the thing thus asserted, from truths generally received, except we will exclude the *Spirit*, without whose concurrence all other Teachings are *ineffectual*; He doth speak to the Hearts and Consciences of men, and leadeth them to his Law and Testimonies, and there he speaks to them, and so gives them double teachings, according to that of Job, *God speaketh once, yea twice*; and that of David, *God hath spoken once, yea twice have I heard this*. Those men that live upon their *Mumpsimus* and *Sumpsimus*, their *Masses* and *Service-Books*, their dead and carnal Worship, no marvel if they be *strangers* to God, and the *works* of God, and to *spiritual dispensations*. And because they say and believe thus, must we do so too? we in this *Land* have been otherwise instructed, even by the *Word*, and *Works*, and *Spirit* of God.

To say that *men* bring forth these things, when *God* doth them, judg you if *God* will bear this. I wish that every sober heart, though he hath had temptations upon him of deserting this *CAUSE* of *God*, yet may take heed how he provokes, and falls into the hands of the living *God* by such Blasphemies as these, according to the 10th of the *Hebrews*, *If we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more sacrifice for sin* (it was spoken to the Jews, that having professed *Christ* apostatized from him) what then? nothing but a *feareful falling into the hands of the Living God*.

They that shall attribute to this or that person the contrivances and production of those mighty things *God* hath wrought in the midst of us, and that they have not been the revolutions of *Christ* himself, upon whose *Shoulders* the *GOVERNMENT* is laid, they speak against *God*, and they fall under his hand without a Mediator, that is, if we deny the *Spirit* of *Jesus Christ* the glory of all his works in the world. by which he *Rules* Kingdoms, and doth administer, and is the *Rod* of his strength, we provoke the Mediator; And he may say, I'll leave you to *God*, I'll not intercede for you, let him tear you to pieces, I'll leave thee to fall into *Gods* hands, thou deniest me my Sovereignty and Power committed to me, I'll not intercede nor mediate for thee, thou fallest into the hands of the living *God*. Therefore whatsoever you may judge men for, and say, This man is cunning, and politick, and subtil; take heed, again

again I say, how you judge of his *revolutions*, as the *products* of *mens* inventions.

I may be thought to press too much upon this Theme, but I pray God it may stick upon your hearts and mine; the *worldly minded man* knows nothing of this, but is a stranger to it, and because of this his *Atheism* and *murmurings* at *instruments*, yea *repining* at *God himself*; and no wonder, considering the Lord hath done such things amongst us as have not been known in the world these 1000 years, and yet notwithstanding is not owned by us.

There is another *necessity* which you have put upon us, and we have not sought; I appeal to God, Angels, and Men, if I shall raise Money according to the Article in the GOVERNMENT which had power to call you hether, and did, and instead of seasonable providing for the Army, you have labored to overthrow the GOVERNMENT, and the Army is now upon *Free-Quarter*, and you would never so much as let me hear a tittle from you concerning it, where is the fault? has it not been as if you had had a purpose to put this extremity upon us and the Nation? I hope this was not in your minds, I am not willing to judge so; but this is the state unto which we are reduced: By the *Designs* of some in the Army who are now in *Custody*, it was *designed* to get as many of them as could, through discontent for want of money, the Army being in a Barren Countrey, near Thirty weeks behind in pay, and upon other specious pretences, to march for *England* out of *Scotland*, and in discontent to *seiz* their *General* there, a faithful and honest man, that so another might head the Army, and all this opportunity taken from your delays, whether will this be a thing of feigned *necessity*? What could it signify but that the Army are in *discontent* already, and wee'll make them live upon *stones*, wee'll make them cast off their *Governours* and *Discipline*? What can be said to this? I list not to unsaddle my self, and put the fault upon others backs; Whether it hath been for the good of *England* whilst men have been talking of this thing or the other, and pretending *liberty*, and a many good words, whether it hath been as it should have been? I am confident you cannot think it has, the Nation will not think so. And if the worst should be made of things, I know not what the *Cornish men*, or the *Lincolnshire men* may think, or other Counties, but I believe they will all think they are not safe. A temporary suspension of caring for the greatest *Liberties* and *privileges* (if it were so, which is denied) would not have been of

that damage, that the not providing against *Free Quarter* hath run the Nation upon. And if it be my *liberty* to walk abroad in the *Fields*, or to take a *Journey*, yet it is not my wisdom to do so when my *House is on fire*.

I have troubled you with a long *Speech*, and I believe it may not have the same resentment with all that it hath with some: But because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God, and conclude with that, that I think my self bound in my *Duty* to God and the People of these Nations, to their *safety* and *good* in every respect. I think it my duty to tell you, That it is not for the *profit* of these Nations, nor for *Common* and *Publick good*, for You to continue here any longer, and therefore, I do Declare unto you, **THAT I DO DISSOLVE THIS PARLIAMENT.**

